1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

vessel covered with a tarp. If goods must be unloaded from a boat before reaching the final destination of a journey, they are stored on the shore and, if rain is expected, placed on poles and covered with a tarp. In contrast to the absence of farewells, greetings are warm. People meeting in Lower Post after a winter's absence in the bush always shake hands with expressions of pleasure.

Indians are usually enthusiastic about travel. The same anticipation and pleasure marks a family's return to Lower Post in the spring which characterizes their start home in the fall. Hunting trips, when the decision has been made to start, are always undertaken with exuberant optimism and enjoyment. Less eagerness marks the start of a trap line tour. There is a commonly expressed attitude of disdain for "sitting one place all the time like white man." Any prolonged camping in one spot quickly becomes tiresome and dull. This ennui is manifested in several ways. People complain of how much it is costing them to live in town; a man remembers that soon the bull moose will begin to run and lose his fat, hence the time to get meat is running short; somebody else expresses pity for the "starving" dogs who need fish and meat. Often the decision to move is made with little warning. One day may be spent finishing new dog packs or belatedly buying supplies, and the next morning the eager barking of the dogs gives notice that the family is off.

Despite the frequency of travel, families seldom move solely for pleasure and rarely go beyond the limits of the tribal district except to visit the trading post. A man's youth is ideally a time for wider travel but such longer journeys never succeed in permanently luring a man from the Kaska area. As Nitla explained it, people in a strange place are apt to become lonesome for their country and this homesickness takes considerable time to wear off. Before it has had a chance to disappear, the youth has started back to his people.

FOOD, DRINK, AND INDULGENCE

Few Indians, except possibly some members of the Frances Lake tribe, any longer strive to maintain themselves primarily on game and fish. Although meat and fish are of both gustatory and economic importance, they are not in themselves depended on for subsistence, survival being closely bound up with the foodstuffs supplied by white traders. In winter when the Indians are far from the trading post and heavily dependent on the goods which were transported in the fall, an adequate supply of food is an indispensable guarantee against hunger anxiety. Food also has capital value. A sufficient stock of accumulated foodstuffs means that, once the trapping season opens, time and effort can be concentrated in the business of getting skins rather than diffused between hunting and trapping. Hunting is ideally to be pursued in autumn, not only because at that time game is fat from rich summer living, but because then time is available for this activity and the meat obtained will allow purchased provisions to stretch through the winter. Fishing in late summer and fall is of similar economic importance. These reasons explain in part the strong emotion which Indians invest in a supply of things to eat. They also help to demonstrate why the value of food in Kaska society is comparable to that of money in our own.

The Kaska refer to two kinds of food, meat and "grub." Meat categorically includes fish and any game animals or fowl killed for eating. Grub designates any food purchased from the traders, including flour, rice, canned meat, and fruit. Each family is expected to supply

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

its own grub and this principle is rigidly adhered to in summer, when the people live in Lower Post within easy contact of the stores. In winter, however, shortages of grub frequently arise and a family often has to be assisted until it has accumulated sufficient fur to undertake a journey to the trading post to restock depleted supplies.

Periods of hunger often occur among the Kaska. There are several reasons why this happens. A man sometimes errs in estimating his winter outfit. Often a minimal supply of grub must be shared with more unfortunate relatives. A man may also lack the money or credit to buy sufficient food. When any one or a combination of these conditions occur, and the family cannot kill sufficient meat to take the place of grub, acute and serious food shortage results. Hunger is never pleasant to the Indian, yet the average man and women is able to accept temporary periods of food shortage without manifest alarm and overtly tends to minimize such experiences. Despite the anxiety concerning food, most people do not carefully ration their winter outfits. As a result, shortages are discovered only when the supply of a particular commodity is already almost exhausted.

A period of hunger was reported to have occurred in Old Man's settlement during the winter of 1939-40. All the grub had been eaten and there was no meat. Included in the several families living in this settlement at the time were Old Wiley, his wife, and children; they had not purchased a winter outfit. "They always had no grub. Old Wiley never trap," Old Man explained. "Girls, gee they tough; they strong. They didn't feel no hungry. They sing around, cut wood." After four days with scarcely any food, Old Man's son-in-law, Harry Lang, killed a dozen chickens, and then Old Man brought down nine more fowl. Everybody ate chicken. The following day Harry left again to hunt moose. He killed one moose but lost another. "I got one marten," Old Man related. "I got seven skin that time." He took the marten and traveled to a white man's home twenty miles upriver. This white trapper gave Old Man "nearly two hundred pound grub for one marten. Here it is, we come back with load of grub. Here it is, they all left. They went to Excited Lake. We got to Excited Lake. Everybody hungry." The people had already consumed the whole of Harry's moose. "We come in with grub. I think it last about three days." In March, Harry took Old Man's skins to Lower Post from where he returned with a sledful of grub.

Associated with the familiarity of hunger is the fact that people are always ready to accept food. A gift of food is recognized as one of the most important presents. In children the desire for food shows itself starkly, being as yet unmodified by socially patterned inhibitions on emotional expression. Young boys entering the ethnographer's home and seeing his children eating stared avidly and sometimes snatched at leftovers which were abandoned on the plates.

For most of the Indians the ideal diet consists of a balance between meat and grub. These need not necessarily appear together at every meal but some meat in the course of a day is regarded as indispensable. Either a diet of straight meat without grub or straight grub without meat is regarded as unfortunate. Not only is a straight grub diet less appetizing, but people are aware that reliance on such food causes staples to diminish rapidly and therefore increases the danger of running short. Living on straight grub also involves a greater expense; meat is free, but grub must be purchased at relatively high prices. Only one or two old women, like Mrs. Man, are content with a straight meat diet accompanied by little more

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

593 partners may be summarily described as one in which the husband is rather consistently dominant or assertive and the wife relatively passive.

The principal material substantiating this pattern comes in the expectations of one spouse from the other and their fulfillment. Ideally the husband expects from his wife not only the obvious conveniences of living, such as a well kept house, prepared meals, clean clothes, and thrift, but usually also economic assistance, sexual faithfulness, loyalty, and personal comforts. These demands are all provided by most women. Thus a wife provides economic assistance through rabbit trapping, fur trapping, and even hunting. She supplies the raw materials for making moccasins and mittens, snowshoes, and line. While adultery occurs, it is not common and never flagrant. A wife is also careful not to gossip about her husband, nor does she criticize him before strangers. She offers him many small physical comforts, bringing tobacco, rolling cigarettes, putting on the husband's shoes, fetching his tools, and caring for him in illness. In addition a woman is more careful of her personal appearance when she expects her husband to return from a trip. A wife will also not absent herself from camp for long periods while the man is at home.

A woman, on the other hand, expects her husband to provide the principal food supply for herself and children; she demands sexual faithfulness and loyalty, but she is not so ready to demand smaller emotional comforts comparable to those which she herself is called upon to make in the marital relationship. She does, however, like her man to remain with her in camp when he is not otherwise occupied. Men are conscious of their economic obligations but are somewhat less reliable in fulfilling the other expectations. They certainly do not fulfill these to the extent that they are met by women. In the event of a wife's illness, however, most men demonstrate concern and solicitation.

593 Between spouses who have been living together for a long time, there is evidence of
● 152 considerable and deep emotional attachment. Old man confessed that when his second wife died he became extremely depressed, took to drinking heavily, and even attempted suicide. River Joe, a very recent widower, likewise spoke of his depression and worry. In a man or woman such emotional dependence is often rationalized as economic dependence, this motive being given as one of the main reasons for a widower to seek remarriage. On the other hand a number of widows were known during the period of field work who showed no desire to remarry. This indicates that, despite his greater assertiveness, the man is, in many respects, emotionally more dependent on his wife than she is on him.[1]

593 One of the warmest, if not the warmest, interpersonal relationship in Kaska society is that existing between siblings, particularly between sisters and between siblings of opposite sex. It is significant that this quality of sibling relations, as expressed by the use of kinship terms, tends to be projected into other social relationships characterized by strong affection and friendship. Thus lovers sometimes exchange brother and sister terms of address, while two men, whose friendship is particularly warm, may call each other "brother."

[601] Four terms are used to distinguish between siblings and are extended to parallel cousins.
[605] While the pattern of warm sibling relations is also commonly extended to such cousins, especially where maternal cousins are thrown into association under conditions of matrilocal residence, it is in the nuclear family that age is most important in determining sibling

[1] See the discussion relating to the status of adult women below pp. 197–198, 291.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

drawn straight under her, the buttocks resting on her ankles and calves, her knees close together. In other words, she sits while kneeling. Often a woman kneels as she works, her buttocks only slightly resting on the calves of her legs, the knees close together. Young girls, especially if they wear slacks, often assume less conventional positions. In walking, both sexes maintain a relaxed, erect posture and do not slouch. They retain this erectness into old age, three men from fifty to seventy being observed who showed no slouch. People are predominantly right-handed and regard left-handedness as amusing. The common handshake lacks vigor, consisting of a limp clasping of hands.

Psychological Processes

Important organs for sensory perception include the nose, tongue, eyes, and ears. The length of the nose is believed to be correlated with an individual's olfactory acuity—the longer the organ, the more far-reaching the sense of smell. A fantastically long nose, the informant said laughingly, would enable a man to smell a moose while with only a short nasal passage a person is able to detect odors only a brief distance away. Taste is an ability of the tongue, related to the fact that this organ is covered by an extremely thin membrane. Taste is regarded as a guide to the edibility of food. Since the function of sight is transmitted by heredity, having many offspring will result in the diminution of this power in children, while the parents will also develop weak eyes. Such diminution of sensory power through reproduction is not a feature of other perceptual processes. Blindness may also appear as the result of an exclusive meat diet.

Emotions. The heart, operating in conjunction with the blood, is the center of emotion, particularly of such feelings as love and hate. The expression of these emotions, however, is mediated by the brain or thought—a noteworthy instance of Kaska thinking being quite in agreement with the latest psychological theories of emotion as a function of the viscera and the cerebral cortex. If a person's heart is "good," hate and violence are impossible for him, even in the face of malice or aggression. Apart from violent emotions like rage, fear, and, for women, pain and excitement, language is rarely used as an adjunct of affective expression.

Curiosity is strongly developed toward unusual features in the immediate environment. The people are intensely interested in any novelty introduced into the community; the ethnographer's glasses, pens, the army trucks, the flush toilet at the Watson Lake mission, purchases of neighbors—all were handled or examined with unrestrained curiosity. Sometimes curiosity prompts even nasal and oral reactions. One day Irene Wiley picked up a handful of fresh sawdust and smelled it. Following her, Anna Lang picked up a pinch and tasted it with the tip of her tongue. At Irene's suggestion, Anna also smelled it.

Fear in the face of a recognized danger is readily expressed by adults and children. Women are particularly prone to show fear, shying from strange dogs, horses, and automobiles and also expressing great dread of wolves. Men are not immune to this emotion. While Nicla and his brother, John, were helping the ethnographer erect a tent, they encountered some hornets from which they fled to a safe distance, at the same time showing manifest fear. In men excessive fear of wolves or fear of the bush is reluctantly expressed and when shown is combatted with ridicule. It is believed that intense chronic fear, or anxiety, may result in death. Old Man told a story of a white man who was very frightened of a

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

828 dead body. "Maybe because he scared he gonna die." It so happened that this man did die
152 within a short time. "He so scared, I think, that's why. Any you think about something
danger when it's time to go to bed, you dream about it. Maybe that's why fellow scared he die."

Men do not generally cry out in pain; women, however, quickly exclaim, crying "Ajya!" until the stimulus is removed or reduced. Men commonly try to suppress any too demonstrable manifestation of excitement. A fresh moose track may produce a tensening of the hunter's body and a whispered remark, but little more. The sight of game promotes a swift, calculated move to a man's gun. In speaking about a hunt or kill, a male narrator's voice reveals little intense emotion but is quite level and matter-of-fact, only a young man smiling as he tells about his success. Women, however, never attempt to inhibit signs of excitement or elation stimulated by game or successful hunting. Any sign of animal life near camp is for them a signal for turbulent running and shouting which, as Old Man ruefully pointed out, quickly drives the game away. At Old Man's settlement, Anna Lang one day dropped a bundle of fresh brush which she was carrying and ran to the river bank. She called something to her sister, Louisa, who was alone in the house. Louisa dashed out of the cabin and called to the ethnographer's wife: "tate, Anna sees fox other side!" Anna ran into the ethnographer's dwelling urging the latter to hurry out with his rifle. Under Anna's urging, the ethnographer shot and missed the fox. Louisa excitedly repeated: "Shoot it, shoot it!" Running, Anna called Lady Suza who, coming with her rifle, also shot and missed. The fox finally ran into the brush. As Anna turned away she chanted: "I saw fox today!" Later, Lady Suza visited Anna and the two women, after discussing the event, began to exchange stories of animals that they had previously encountered and shot.

828 A frequent pattern of reacting to an embarrassing or otherwise pressing interpersonal
154 situation is by flight from the scene, women in particular being quick to flee when they feel discomfort in social relationships. In both sexes, embarrassment or heightened self-consciousness often finds expression in coughing. Two women returning to a dance from the toilet brush were observed to cough as they entered the house and took their places. When such a reaction occurs in an interpersonal situation involving two people, it seems to serve as an excuse for hesitating or not answering some embarrassing or inconvenient question. For example, our informant, Nitla, denied that people ever coughed when embarrassed or ashamed. We pointed out that he had coughed just previously, when the subject of anal reactions had been introduced. The informant explained that a throat tickle must have occurred simultaneously with the question and had promoted his coughing. He added that smoking (he had been smoking) also stimulates coughing. It would seem that such emotionally motivated coughing is an unconscious phenomenon.

828 Conscious mentation. Thinking is ascribed to the brain. Several reasoning processes are demonstrated by the Kaska, including analogy, empirical induction, and deduction. Analogy is used frequently in explaining animal behavior on the basis of human behavior, while examples from other aspects of nature are sometimes also used to illustrate or explain human processes.

000 Induction is here defined as mentation leading to empirical knowledge or belief which,

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

participate in an activity for its completion. Individualism contrasts Kaska society to a co- 181X
operative social group, in which a number of people work *with* one another for the common 156
good (the usual voluntaristic definition of cooperation), and also to a competitive society, whose members tacitly agree to participate in an activity but work *against* one another. Among the Kaska both forms of cooperation are largely lacking and the consequent individualistic emphasis may be partly understood as a result of egocentric striving. Specific expressions of egocentrism in economic life are abundant. The motive is demonstrated in the personal initiative which governs economic relationships and allows an economic partner to withdraw from such a relationship when it no longer proves congenial. What cooperation exists in the technical culture is primarily on a voluntaristic basis. The economic independence of a family unit rests on foundations of personal independence and responsibility. Psychologically, the family can survive alone because its adult members place a high value on being able to live independently and resourcefully without major external assistance. Egocentric trends are also manifested in the reluctance of people to undertake wage work for other Indians or white men. An individual's values are such that only personal goals are invested with emotional appeal; and the more remote a task from one's immediate interests, the less attractive its valence.

The sense of personal responsibility for success and failure is revealed in the fact that a hunter experiences disappointment when he fails to secure meat and, in spite of the fact that he suppresses manifest emotionality, appears intensely satisfied when he has done well in hunting. This observation is corroborated by the observation that in no case is a successful hunt seriously ascribed to "luck"—personal satisfaction from the exercise of egocentric [177]
striving rarely permitting any diffusion of affect away from the ego. Lack of success, however, in order to relieve the sense of failure, shows a tendency to be allocated to supernatural causation. It is in motivating hunting behavior that egocentricity reveals itself most strongly as [152]
the positive driving force of Kaska personality. Overemphasis would be difficult in describing the optimism with which the Indian approaches hunting. Self-assured, confident of success, conscious of a subjective command over the venture, the hunter sees his task as the acme of personal achievement. That successful young women hunters overtly display such emotional reactions (which men inhibit) points up both their eagerness to identify with this male vocation as well as the role's importance for personal self-esteem and satisfaction. Egocentricity must also be credited as motivating the conquest of early patterned fear of the bush, a victory for all boys and some girls, which permits the egocentric gratifications afforded by successful hunting and trapping.

Turning now to the social expression of egocentricity, we find independence assured by the atomism of social life—the consequence of a low degree of social identification. The egocentric sense of personal responsibility is related to the fact that a person rarely feels accountable beyond his family, and is apt even to resent criticism from that source. In other words, an egocentrically motivated attempt is made to insulate against awareness of social expectations. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that a sense of guilt is more important for insuring conformity than a feeling of shame. Any attempt to induce shame probably only succeeds to the degree that it generates guilt. External sanctions are also resented because they imperil independence. Here is the root of the Indian's negativistic attitudes to